

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 135975
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:TNILES/ATP
APPROVED BY IO:GBHELMAN
AF:RMOOSE
AF/S:LMACFARLANE
S/S-O:SRPVALERGA

-----007407 272225Z /66

O 271936Z MAY 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 135975

EXDIS - LUSAKA FOR AMB. MC HENRY

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: POSSIBLE APPROACH TO SAG

REFS: (A) CAPE TOWN 1047; (B) CAPE TOWN 1064;
(C) USUN 2163
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 135975

1. DEPARTMENT NOTES EMERGING CONSENSUS THAT COMBINATION
OF TIME DEADLINE ESTABLISHED BY VORSTER (REF A) AND LIKELY
DELAY IN MEETING OF FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS BEYOND JUNE 5
MAKES ADDITIONAL APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICANS ESSENTIAL.

2. IN DEPARTMENT'S VIEW, THIS APPROACH BY CONTACT GROUP

SHOULD:

A) SEEK TO ENCOURAGE SOUTH AFRICANS TO TAKE SERIES OF UNILATERAL STEPS WHICH WOULD RESTORE SOME CONFIDENCE IN POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA; AND

B) PERSUADE SOUTH AFRICANS TO AVOID ANY STEPS, SUCH AS INITIATION OF VOTER REGISTRATION, WHICH WOULD FURTHER COMPLICATE ALREADY DIFFICULT SITUATION.

3. IN TERMS OF TIMING, WE NOTED WITH INTEREST EKSTEEN'S COMMENTS (USUN 2163) THAT APPROACH AS LATE AS JUNE 5 OR 6

MIGHT WELL BE TOO LATE TO HEAD OFF MOVES BY SAG. WITH THIS IN MIND, WE BELIEVE THAT CONTACT GROUP SHOULD AIM AT MAKING PRESENTATION IN CAPE TOWN NO LATER THAN JUNE 2, AND PREFERABLY JUNE 1. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THIS TIMING MAY POSE PROBLEM IN THAT WE MAY NOT KNOW BY THEN WHETHER, OR WHEN, PROPOSED FRONT LINE SUMMIT WILL TAKE PLACE. HOWEVER, WE HOPE THAT IN FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH KAUNDA AND/OR CHONA, AMBASSADORS LOW AND MC HENRY WILL BE ABLE TO OBTAIN SOME SORT OF ASSURANCE REGARDING FRONT LINE SUMMIT WHICH WOULD BE SUFFICIENTLY FIRM TO BE USED WITH SAG AS BASIS FOR POSTPONING ACTION SUCH AS INITIATION OF VOTER REGISTRATION.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 135975

4. IN TERMS OF SUBSTANCE, WE AGREE WITH EMBASSY CAPE TOWN THAT WE SHOULD AIM AT OBTAINING CONFIDENCE-BUILDING ASSURANCES AND ACTIONS BY SAG. IN DEPARTMENT'S VIEW, THESE MIGHT INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

A) PRISONER RELEASE. NYERERE'S ACTION IN RELEASING SHIPANGA AND OTHER SWAPO DISSIDENTS PROVIDES BASIS FOR ARGUING IN FAVOR OF RECIPROCAL STEP BY SAG IN THIS AREA, PARTICULARLY SINCE BOTHA AND OTHER SAG OFFICIALS HAVE LONG MADE MAJOR POINT OF SECURING RELEASE OF THESE INDIVIDUALS. IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, EQUIVALENT ACTION BY SAG WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL. IN DISCUSSING SUBJECT WITH SAG, CONTACT GROUP COULD SUGGEST THAT SAG AGREE TO RELEASE SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER, PERHAPS 25 PERCENT, OF NAMIBIANS WHOM IT CURRENTLY HOLDS, PERHAPS INCLUDING ONE OR MORE OF THE MORE PROMINENT, LONG-TERM PRISONERS SUCH AS TOIVO. WE ARE NOT SURE WHETHER IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE TO MENTION SPECIFIC INDIVIDUALS SUCH AS TOIVO, BUT IN VIEW OF FACT THAT TANZANIANS HAVE NOW RELEASED THE OTHER LEADING SWAPO DETAINEE, WE ARE INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO SUGGEST THAT TOIVO BE AMONG THOSE RELEASED;

B) AG-26 DETAINEES. IN VIEW HIGHLY NEGATIVE IMPACT OF RECENT DETENTIONS IN NAMIBIA OF SWAPO LEADERS UNDER DECREE AG-26, WE BELIEVE THAT MAJOR POINT SHOULD BE MADE WITH SAG OF DESIRABILITY OF RELEASING THESE INDIVIDUALS. ALTHOUGH THERE IS OBVIOUS OVERLAP BETWEEN PROBLEM OF LONG-TERM NAMIBIAN PRISONERS AND AG-26 DETAINEES, WE BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A SUFFICIENT DIFFERENCE IN POPULAR PERCEPTIONS OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED TO JUSTIFY SEPARATING THEM IN DISCUSSIONS WITH SAG;

C) MILITARY MEASURES. WE NOTE EMBASSY CAPE TOWN'S CONCERN (PARA 3 REF A) THAT SAG ASSURANCE REGARDING DE FACTO CEASEFIRE COULD BE USED BY SAG TO CLAIM IMPLICIT WESTERN CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 135975

APPROVAL OF RENEWED RAIDS INTO ANGOLA IN EVENT OF RENEWED SWAPO MILITARY ACTIVITIES. HOWEVER, IN VIEW OF TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA'S STATEMENT (DAR'S 2190) REGARDING IMPORTANCE OF ASSURANCE ON THIS POINT, WE BELIEVE THAT BENEFITS OF SUCH AN ASSURANCE OUTWEIGH RISKS, PARTICULARLY OVER RELATIVELY SHORT-RUN PERIOD WITH WHICH WE ARE CONCERNED. MOREOVER, AS PRACTICAL MATTER, WE DOUBT THAT SWAPO WILL BE IN POSITION DURING NEXT FEW WEEKS TO MOUNT TYPE OF MILITARY OPERATIONS FROM ANGOLA WHICH COULD BE USED TO JUSTIFY REPETITION OF CASSINGA OPERATION. ANOTHER POSSIBILITY WHICH WE BELIEVE CONTACT GROUP SHOULD CONSIDER IS PROPOSAL TO SAG THAT IT ANNOUNCE A WITHDRAWAL, EVEN IF THIS IS RELATIVELY SMALL, OF SOME OF ITS FORCES FROM NAMIBIA. THE OBJECT OF THIS EXERCISE, IN DEPARTMENT'S VIEW, IS TO OBTAIN FROM SOUTH AFRICANS CONCRETE EVIDENCE OF THEIR WILLINGNESS TO IMPLEMENT THE PROVISIONS OF THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL, AND STEPS WHICH RELATE TO KEY ELEMENTS OF PROPOSAL, SUCH AS WITHDRAWAL OF SAG FORCES, WOULD BE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL. FACT OF SMALL WITHDRAWAL, NOT NUMBERS INVOLVED, WOULD BE IMPORTANT IN TERMS OF ATMOSPHERICS. (ALTHOUGH WE WOULD NOT WANT TO MENTION THIS POSSIBILITY TO SAG, SMALL WITHDRAWAL COULD PROVIDE BASIS FOR CONTACT GROUP TO SUGGEST EQUIVALENT STEP TO SWAPO);

D) POLICE. WE NOTE FROM USUN 2163 THAT UK AMBASSADOR HAS RAISED SUBJECT OF POLICE FORCES WITH FOURIE, AND WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN ANY SPECIFIC PROPOSALS SCOTT MAY HAVE MADE. IN VIEW OF SWAPO'S FEARS REGARDING POLICE, DEPARTMENT BELIEVES IT WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL IF SOME MECHANISM COULD BE ESTABLISHED TO REASSURE FRONT LINE AND SWAPO THAT POLICE WOULD NOT BE USED DURING TRANSI-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 135975

TIONAL PERIOD AS INSTRUMENT OF INTIMIDATION. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE SUGGEST THAT JUSTICE STEYN ANNOUNCE FORMATION OF WHAT WOULD AMOUNT OF CIVILIAN REVIEW BOARD, WHICH WOULD CONSIDER COMPLAINTS AGAINST POLICE. IN TERMS OF COMPOSITION, REVIEW BOARD WOULD HAVE TO BE REPRESENTATIVE OF NAMIBIAN OPINION AND WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE RESPECTED FIGURES SUCH AS CHURCH LEADERS IN ORDER TO GAIN CONFIDENCE OF POPULATION;

E) REMOVAL OF DISCRIMINATORY LAWS AND REGULATIONS. ALTHOUGH WE RECOGNIZE THAT THIS IS NOT MAJOR AREA OF FRONT LINE/SWAPO CONCERN, WE BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF JUSTICE STEYN MADE STATEMENT WHICH WOULD:

A) REVIEW PROGRESS TO DATE IN DISMANTLING APARTHEID IN NAMIBIA; AND

5. FINALLY, WE NOTE IN PARA 5 REF A EMBASSY CAPE TOWN'S ASSESSMENT THAT MESSAGES REGARDING CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES WOULD BE MOST EFFECTIVE IF THEY WERE DELIVERED INDIVIDUALLY AND NOT COLLECTIVELY BY CONTACT GROUP. DEPARTMENT HAS NO STRONG VIEWS ON THIS POINT AND WE WOULD DEFER TO EMBASSY CAPE TOWN'S ASSESSMENT, ASSUMING THAT THIS IS SHARED BY OTHER MEMBERS OF CONTACT GROUP.

6. SECOND PART OF APPROACH TO SAG SHOULD BE AIMED AT THE FAMILIAR PROBLEM OF HEADING OFF UNILATERAL STEPS WHICH WOULD COMPLICATE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. IN CURRENT SITUATION WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR CONTACT GROUP TO POINT TO PLANS FOR FRONT LINE SUMMIT, ASSUMING ONE WILL BE HELD, AS ONE REASON FOR SAG TO AVOID SUCH STEPS. HOWEVER, WE MUST BE CAREFUL TO AVOID SITUATION IN WHICH FAILURE OF FRONT LINE SUMMIT TO RESULT IN MUCH PROGRESS COULD THEN BE USED BY SAG AS JUSTIFICATION FOR MOVING AHEAD WITH ITS PLANS. CONSEQUENTLY, WHILE APPROACH SHOULD REFER TO PROJECTED FRONT LINE SUMMIT, WE BELIEVE IT SHOULD ALSO

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 135975

REITERATE EARLIER CAUTIONARY STATEMENTS WARNING SAG OF CONSEQUENCES OF UNILATERAL STEPS FOR INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT.

CHRISTOPHER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING REPORTS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 may 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE135975
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: TNILES/ATP
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780225-0079
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780510/aaaaainp.tel
Line Count: 222
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: b0294693-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 78 CAPE TOWN 1047, 78 CAPE TOWN 1064, 78 USUN NEW YORK 2163
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2509438
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAMIBIA: POSSIBLE APPROACH TO SAG
TAGS: PORG, PDEV, SF, WA, (VORSTER, BALTHAZAR JOHANNES)
To: USUN NEW YORK
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/b0294693-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014